

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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Government Assists Drought Sufferers

Funds and Work Relief Provided for Thousands of Families in Stricken Areas

PERMANENT PROBLEM SEEN

Large-Scale Planning for Improved Soil Utility Held Necessary to Preserve Resources

It is not the object of this article to tell the story of the great drought which is exacting such a heavy toll in many portions of the country. That tragic story of burning fields, of starving herds, of torrid heat; the story of death, soil destruction, devastated areas, family destitution, has been related by the daily press, and the consequences of the great natural disaster have been seen and felt at first-hand by millions of Americans. But behind this narrative of tragedy there emerge problems—economic, political, and social; problems for communities, states, and nation. And it is with these problems that we are primarily concerned.

The whole nation has sweltered recently in almost unprecedented heat. From coast to coast prostrations are reported, and vegetation has wilted. But it is only in certain regions that drought and heat have created problems calling for governmental aid. The zone of most intense suffering includes North and South Dakota, Eastern Montana and Wyoming, and Western Minnesota. Serious, but less destructive effects of drought, are found in parts of Kentucky, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. Altogether more than 200,000 families, or approximately a million persons, are rendered destitute and placed in imperative need of aid.

This situation sets upon the government an immediate and compelling responsibility. It must relieve the distress of these families. There is little dispute on that point. Here and there a voice is raised to declare that this is not a responsibility of government; that if people go into a country subject to drought and suffer as a result of it they must take the consequences. But not many take that position. There is little opposition to government assistance, and it is being given.

Emergency Relief

The government is giving WPA jobs to farmers whose crops have dried up, whose income has vanished and whose supplies of food are exhausted. These farmers, who have been deprived of a living on their farms, are being set to work building dams so that when rain comes the water may be retained. They are also digging wells and terracing fields to prevent erosion of the soil. They are being paid wages averaging about \$15 a week. The work now being undertaken will probably give a living, until winter, to most of the 200,000 families whose need is greatest.

In addition to work relief, cash aid is being given to thousands of families for whom jobs cannot be immediately supplied. But that does not tell the whole story of government assistance, for loans are being made to farmers so that they can send their cattle away to regions where the grass has not dried up. This will avoid the necessity of slaughtering the cattle. It will permit the farmers to get them

(Concluded on page 8)



THE PARCHED EARTH

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Renovating Our Minds

The suggestion has been made that everyone should go over all of his belongings now and then and destroy everything which is neither useful nor beautiful. If we should do that we would find plenty to destroy, for, even in the tidiest home, articles of little worth or beauty have a way of accumulating. Closets and attics and out-of-the-way corners do get cluttered with trash, which tends to accumulate, in part merely through our negligence, and in part because of our disinclination to disturb that which has become, in a way, hallowed with age. So we do need to renovate the premises now and then. We do need to resort at times to an old-fashioned housecleaning.

The necessity for renovation is even more marked when we are dealing with the house of the mind. We all live in mental houses that are more or less cluttered. Ideas which once seemed beautiful but which are now outgrown do linger on. The petulance of childhood, which in the man or woman seems as out of place and indefensible as the garments of infancy, does show up too often, advertising the fact that the adult is clinging to one of the possessions of babyhood. And prejudices which never did have any use, have grown ugly and disagreeable, and yet there they lie, in the corners of our minds, hampering our movements, and keeping us from efficiency in our thinking.

It would not do for us to become too introspective, turning our thoughts always upon our own minds. That would make us morbid and unnatural. But it would be a good thing if each one were to engage fairly often in a bit of mental housecleaning. A good many habits, ideas, ways of thinking might well be brushed away. Peculiarly out of place in a well-ordered mind are the political prejudices which so many people carry around with them. When one is young he acquires an emotional attachment to a certain party name, an antipathy to another. Reason, argument, fact do not enter into the selection. Yet the choice is made, and, unless one is unusually critical of his likes and dislikes, this childhood choice may determine his position on problems which closely affect him throughout his life.

But probably the rubbish which most needs to be cleaned out of the ordinary mind is more personal in nature. There are little inefficient habits of study and of work which should be swept aside. There are irritating mannerisms which should be corrected. There are disagreeable traits of personality which interfere with one's social relations. Our mental houses need frequent airings and occasional overhaulings in order that our work and play and association may be carried on in a wholesome atmosphere; that our lives may be spent in an environment conducive to happiness and success.

Austria and Germany Compose Differences

Hitler in Sudden Change of Policy Agrees to Respect Austrian Independence

MAJOR VICTORY FOR NAZIS

Accord Will Promote Economic and Political Ambitions of National Socialists

Five years ago Germany and Austria aroused Europe by declaring their intention to establish a customs union. Their plan was to abolish tariff barriers; to permit the free flow of trade over their mutual border. It was an arrangement which would have brought the two countries into the closest coöperation in economic matters and which, in time, would probably have led to outright political union.

France and the Little Entente nations—Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania—rushed forward to oppose the project. They saw nothing but danger for themselves in such a compact between Germany and Austria. They knew that if Germany could absorb Austria she would be in a position to regain her prewar position of power and influence. Accordingly France brought her financial power to bear in order to cripple the Vienna government. And an appeal was made to the World Court which declared that the customs union would violate a treaty signed by Austria in 1922. In the face of this opposition the project died.

The Agreement

A few days ago the governments of Germany and Austria made another announcement. They declared for no bold customs union, nor yet for a bolder political union, but they did state that hereafter their relations would be friendly and that there would be a greater degree of coöperation between them in the future. Germany agreed to respect the independence of Austria, and Austria agreed to bear in mind that, after all, she was a "German state." The antagonism which had developed between the two nations over recent years will be forgotten.

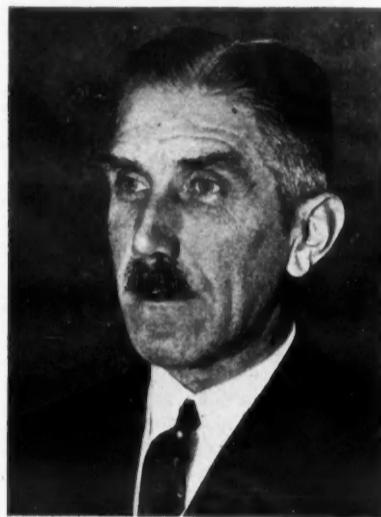
While this proposal does not go so far as did the one of 1931, it is quite possible that in the long run it will have results equally as important as those envisaged five years ago. Germany's influence over Austria, once established, will grow and may pave the way for the political union which the Nazis so ardently desire. Likewise, it will provide Germany with increased opportunities to extend her power into Central Europe.

It might be expected, therefore, that opposition to the new agreement for coöperation would develop just as it did in 1931. However, much water has passed under the bridge in the last five years. Germany today is much more powerful than she was in 1931. Under the Hitler dictatorship she has gradually but certainly regained her influential and strong position. France cannot now successfully bar the advance of Germany into Central Europe. And the Little Entente is being slowly forced to revise its attitude and accept Germany's growing influence. Germany, in the end, is winning her victory.

Considered in the light of recent European history the agreement with Austria marks a sudden and important shift in tactics on the part of Germany. As is widely

known, after Hitler came into power the Nazis made undisguised attempts to bring about union between Germany and Austria. However, many Austrians, not liking the theories and practices of Nazism, changed their views and under the able leadership of Engelbert Dollfuss resisted the invitation to join Germany. In his struggle against the Nazis Dollfuss had the active support of Italy which was unwilling to see a German nation extending to her own borders.

In retaliation the Nazis supported an Austrian Nazi movement which, in July 1934, assassinated Dollfuss and nearly captured the government. Since then the Nazi movement has been outlawed in Austria. The country has been dominated by the Fatherland Front, by an Austrian clerical movement working in close harmony with Italy. The government is now largely un-



© Acme

FRANZ VON PAPEN
German ambassador to Austria who engineered the recent agreement between the two nations.

der the control of Kurt Schuschnigg, former close friend and follower of Dollfuss, who has steadfastly opposed Germany's desire to absorb Austria.

Consequently, since the death of Dollfuss there has been enmity and bitterness between Berlin and Vienna. Hitler, although repulsed, was unwilling to give up his ambition to annex Austria, and the Austrian government, backed by Mussolini, resolutely fought annexation. A tense and difficult situation was created. Everyone feared that the day would come when Hitler, confident of his strength, would make another effort to grab Austria and thereby drag Europe into war. For it was plain that Italy, France, and other European countries would not peacefully permit the direct union of Germany and Austria.

Change in Position

Now, suddenly, Hitler has changed his position. He has signed an agreement pledging Germany to respect the independence of Austria. He has promised not to interfere with the internal affairs of that country. He has made a broad concession, asking only in return that the Austrians establish friendly relations with Germany and that they conduct themselves as a German nation. This offer has been accepted not only by Austria but also by Italy, which feels secure now that Austria is to remain as a buffer state between Italy and Germany.

A number of questions are raised by the publication of this agreement. Why did Hitler suddenly decide to renounce his ambition to annex Austria? Why did Mussolini, jealous of any competition in Central Europe, consent to the growth of German influence over Austria? Why did Austria herself decide to conclude the agreement?

There are several good reasons which are reported to have caused Hitler to change his policy with regard to Austria. Foremost, perhaps, was the fact that he concluded that his attitude on the Austrian problem was promoting the movement to encircle and isolate Germany. France, Italy, Great Britain, Russia, the Little Entente, all considered the independence of Austria essential to European peace. So long as Hitler persisted in his ambition to join Austria to Germany, those nations felt bound to oppose Germany. France and Russia were endeavoring to solidify this bloc so as to establish a tight ring of armed nations around Germany.

It was expected that the anti-German movement would gain ground at a conference of Locarno powers to be held in Brussels during the latter part of this month. Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Italy were due to consider further steps to be taken in view of Germany's violation of the Locarno treaty last March, when she suddenly rearmed the Rhineland. It was believed that in Brussels Britain, France, and Italy would patch up their differences over the Ethiopian issue, and reestablish the Stresa united front against Germany. It will be recalled, in this connection, that Britain, fearing the growing power of Germany, had reversed her attitude toward Italy, had caused the League to end the sanctions program, and had become generally anxious to regain the friendship of Mussolini. At the same time there were reports that Russia and Italy were discussing, or were about to discuss measures by which the spread of German influence in Central and Southern Europe—a region important to both of them—might be countered.

All these things gave Hitler food for thought. He realized that there was no gaining Austria without war, and Germany is not yet prepared for war. He saw that for Germany's sake it was necessary to break up the encirclement movement. Thus, he decided to change his tactics, and to pursue his ends peacefully rather than militarily. He instructed his clever ambassador to Vienna, Franz von Papen, to accept an agreement which would pledge Germany to recognize the independence of Austria.

Italy's Attitude

The gesture was made at an opportune moment and found not only Austria but Italy receptive. Mussolini has been feeling none too cordial toward Great Britain and France. Sanctions have been lifted but the conquest of Ethiopia remains unrecognized. The British are not yet disposed to recognize it, nor are they prepared to make the loan to Italy which Mussolini wants and badly needs.

So Mussolini is anxious to strengthen his bargaining position. By drawing closer to Germany he is able to impress the British and the French with the fact that concessions must be made if Italy is to be kept from lining up solidly and permanently with Germany in a bloc of nations which would include not only Italy and Germany, but Austria, Hungary, and perhaps Poland,

and even Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. There are some observers who believe that Mussolini has already decided to join Germany. It is pointed out that immediately after the conclusion of the Austro-German agreement Italy took a pretext not to attend the Brussels conference and declared that the meeting could serve no good purpose without the attendance of Germany. But in spite of this it is believed that Mussolini has not yet decided to join Germany in establishing a bloc of nations opposed to Britain, France, and Russia. He would much prefer to revive his plan for a Four Power Pact, under which Britain, France, Italy, and Germany would act in concert on European problems. If this does not prove feasible, and if Britain does not make the concessions he wishes, he may then line up with Germany, but probably not before.

Austria

As for Austria, it will be remembered (see *THE AMERICAN OBSERVER*, May 25, 1936) that Chancellor Schuschnigg, after ousting von Starhemberg from his cabinet, let it be known that he was anxious to establish a more cordial relationship with Germany. He is still as opposed as ever to Germany's annexation of Austria, but he knows well that Germany is in a position to improve Austria's economic well-being. For several years German tourist traffic in Austria has been made prohibitive by a 1,000 mark visa fee, and other measures have been taken to injure Austria's economic position. These restrictions will now be lifted and Austria may expect greater prosperity.

But a price will have to be paid for this prosperity, and it is a question if in the end that price will not be the end of Austrian independence. A strong Nazi sympathizer has been admitted to the Austrian cabinet, Nazi newspapers will be allowed to enter the country, and Nazi political prisoners will be released. The Austrian Nazi party will not be recognized but its members will probably be taken into the Fatherland Front, Schuschnigg's own party. The meaning of all this is perfectly clear. The cause of Austrian Nazism will be indirectly strengthened, and avenues of German propaganda will be reopened. The Nazis in Austria are already declaring that it will not be long before they will come into control. And if this happens it will only be necessary to wait for the convenient moment to join Germany formally and finally. Patient, peaceful penetration may secure for Hitler what he cannot obtain immediately by force. It is a signal victory in foreign policy for Germany.

At the same time it is an important economic victory. Through Austria Germany will be able to push forward her economic penetration of Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, and Greece. She will be in a position to displace France (and perhaps Italy if there is no Italo-German agreement), as the leading influence in Central Europe. It is reported that these economic considerations played a large part in deciding Hitler to reverse his official attitude toward Austria.

Nazi Program

There is another motive which needs to be considered. It is being noted that Germany's actions are following faithfully the program outlined in Hitler's book,



STAGE DOOR JOHNNIES

—Elderman in Washington Post

"My Battle." That program called for the remilitarization of the Rhineland, the extension of German influence into Austria, the isolation of France, the winning of British and Italian sympathy, the acquisition of territory from Russia and her border states, and, in the end, a final struggle with France. The policies outlined in this book have never been repudiated and inasmuch as the book is required reading for millions of Germans, there is every reason to believe that Hitler intends to adhere faithfully to the principles he set forth.

It is obvious that Germany's moves so far are in harmony with this program. The fortification of the Rhineland and the growth of German influence over her Little Entente allies are rapidly isolating France. Austria is being won, Italy has been pacified and efforts are being made to assure the neutrality of Great Britain. The British some weeks ago sent a note to Hitler asking him to clarify his intentions in the foreign field. The Nazi leader has not answered but his conciliatory action on the Austrian problem is regarded as a reply, not of word but of deed. This move on the part of Germany will strengthen the position of those members of the British cabinet who believe that it would be wise to let Hitler have his way in Eastern Europe. There is a powerful anti-Russian faction among the British conservatives. They would like nothing better than to see Communism destroyed, even if it would result in a more powerful Germany. Their view has not yet prevailed, but there is a chance that it will, if Hitler makes sufficient assurances of peace to Britain.

This is how the situation stands at the present moment. France has suffered a severe diplomatic defeat. Germany has won an important victory. Italy has gained, although it is not certain how much and how permanently. Russia appears to have lost and is relying more and more on her own strength to resist the German attack, possibly combined with a Japanese attack, which she sees in the future. It is a time of great importance in post-war European history. There is no doubt that the developments of the next few months will be profoundly affected by the Austro-German agreement.

THE POSITION OF AUSTRIA IN EUROPE
Through Austria Germany is enabled to extend her influence in Central Europe.

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AROUND THE WORLD

China: At the long-awaited meeting of the delegates of the National People's party, three decisions were made which are bound to have widespread repercussions both in the internal affairs of China and in her relations with Japan. Dominated by General Chiang Kai-shek, dictator of the Nanking government, the assembly ordered the dismissal of General Chen Chia-tang from command of the Kwangtung province armies; abolished the partial independence of the Southwest government, comprising the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi; and rejected a proposal to wage war against Japanese aggression on the mainland.

To appreciate the significance of these decisions and to understand the relationship they bear to one another, it is necessary to recall that during recent months the Southwest government has repeatedly urged General Chiang to take action against Japan. This appeal was accompanied, too, by a promise of military support. But the Nanking war lord was deaf to these appeals. He had cultivated the friendship of Japan and had no intention of now becoming her enemy. And when the Southwest provinces moved their troops northward, he termed the gesture a revolt, and called an emergency session of the National People's party.

The dismissal of the Kwangtung commander and the abolition of autonomy for the southern provinces is thus Chiang's final answer to the anti-Japanese elements in China. It is unlikely that General Chen will willingly relinquish his post, so that the outbreak of civil war may be expected now at any time. Already, Chen has appealed to the military leaders of Kwangsi and they have given him favorable answers.

* * *

Spain: José Calvo Sotelo, monarchist deputy in the Spanish parliament and one



WHAT EUROPE IS READING

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch

of the most outspoken critics of the present leftist régime, was assassinated last week, apparently by a group of young radicals. It is thought that this act was in retaliation of the previous slaying of a young lieutenant by fascist followers. Although Señor Sotelo was himself not a fascist, he had served as finance minister in the cabinet of Dictator Primo Rivera and his attacks upon Premier Quiroga were becoming increasingly virulent. It was only several weeks ago that he arose in the Cortes and created a great deal of commotion by an address in which he charged that the government was incapable or unwilling to maintain order and that its leniency with strikers and rioters was driving many of the middle classes into the ranks of the fascists.

The assassination may thus be regarded as an attempt to silence him. But almost immediately his death brought about the danger of another political crisis. Proposals were entertained for adjourning the parliament for a week in order to allow the



PROTEST

A gathering of 250,000 people in England to protest against the British government's action in having League sanctions against Italy lifted.

cooling off of tempers. And it is now a matter of doubt to observers whether the Popular Front will be able to withstand the storm bound to result from this latest piece of terrorism. The position of the Quiroga cabinet has been most uncertain during the past two weeks. Labor conflicts have been frequent and violent. While some workers have been willing to come to an agreement with their employers, most of them have come under the influence of the extremely radical Syndicalist faction, which has no patience with the attempts of the government to mediate, believing that only by direct action of all the workers will their demands be met.

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Brazil: Following the revolt of last November, the government of Brazil has made efforts to quiet the dissatisfaction among its people by actively putting into effect the social security program provided for in the constitution of 1934. During recent months, the Brazilian congress has shown some opposition to the government's program but President Getulio Vargas has nevertheless succeeded in having his reforms accepted.

The chief provisions of the security law have to do with compulsory insurance against old age, disability, illness and accidents. The funds are contributed equally by the workers, the employers and the federal government. The funds for the government contribution are to be obtained in a rather unusual way by a sales tax on personal services. Thus, the fund for barbers will be secured through putting a sales tax upon each haircut. Similarly, the fund for sailors will be raised through a tax on passengers and freight. How large the benefit payments may be can be seen from the fact that during any one month as much as eight per cent of one's wage will be put aside in the fund, this sum being tripled by the employer and government contributions.

* * *

England: The extent to which the cooperative movement has taken root in Great Britain has been brought to public notice by the special commission sent by President Roosevelt to study the nature of cooperatives in European countries. A preliminary study by the three members of the commission revealed that from one-third to one-half of all families now share in the benefits of coöperation. In England, this system of consumer management began more than 90 years ago, members of the society subscribing four cents a week. At

the end of 1934, there were 1,135 retail co-operative societies in England and Ireland, with a total membership of more than 7,000,000 individuals. Total sales in stores operated by these associations amounted to over a billion dollars. In addition to retail stores, these coöperative organizations have set up banks, a newspaper, insurance companies, and wholesale distributors. Housewives report that they receive as much as 10 per cent rebate on all their purchases, despite the fact that they are getting approved merchandise at a cost to them no higher than if they were to buy those same things in ordinary stores.

Indeed, so successful has the movement been that its leaders are now planning a 10-year drive both for increased membership and for an extension of the system in the fields of education and general social welfare.

* * *

Germany: The Nazi government, as well as the German people, is now making extensive preparations for the coming Olympic games. The capital city, Berlin, has been scrubbed and scoured and appears to have taken on a new appearance. Streets have been refitted with improved lighting, the boulevards have been replanted with trees and everywhere flower beds have been laid out.

Writing in the *New York Times*, Frederick T. Birchall explains these feverish preparations by the government's desire to make an impression upon the many tourists expected to come to Germany for the international sport event. Recently, this correspondent emphasizes, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels made an address in which he noted that the Olympic games offered an excellent opportunity to show the world the new Germany that has come into being since Adolf Hitler took over the government and he urged all citizens to regard themselves as hosts representing the National Socialist state and as bearing a political mission.

So successful has this technique been that everywhere in the land special efforts are being made to make an excellent impression upon the expected visitors. Cafes, hotels, even private homes have bedecked themselves with the newest finery. In addition, various placards derogatory of minority classes have been removed so that strangers

may return to their native lands with a favorable impression of the new Germany.

* * *

France: The French national holiday, marking the capture of the hated Bastille prison by a Paris mob 147 years ago, passed more quietly than had been expected. For several weeks there had been considerable apprehension over what might take place on this occasion and it had been feared that political rivalries would break out into ugly fighting.

It is true that several clashes took place. But, on the whole, the holiday proved to offer an encouraging spectacle for the future of the French republic. When the national army marched through the Paris boulevards, it was cheered equally by all factions, communists joining with fascists and socialists. Then, in the afternoon, there took place the great popular demonstrations, the masses joining in a long procession.

The manner in which this holiday was celebrated, despite bitter factional differences, has led competent observers to dwell with emphasis upon the characteristics of French political life. Beyond the immediate squabbles of leaders, there is a strong bond of unity among the people of France. If they do not always agree in their preferences, they agree in one thing, their dislike of tyrannical authority. The term "liberty" in other lands may evoke either contempt or unemotional acceptance, but in France it seems to touch the most sensitive chords. And it is this passion for liberty and freedom, subtly because unemotionally revealed in the easy and leisurely gait of the paraders, that warns against the danger of a crisis. Observers thus conclude that there is really more confidence among the French people than would superficially appear. And this confidence is most concretely shown in the fact that for the first time in many months, French banks now register more deposits than withdrawals.

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The British government is completing plans for the manufacture of millions of gas masks, to be provided free of charge to every man, woman, and child.

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The Montreux conference, seeking to comply with Turkey's demand for the right to fortify the Dardanelles, has hit a snag in Anglo-Russian differences over the right of warships to pass through the Straits in time of war.

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In response to the British withdrawal of warships from the Mediterranean, the Italian government has begun to take back to Italy troops that had been sent to Libya at the outbreak of the Ethiopian war.



CUTTING OUT PAPER DOLLS

—Phillips in Sacramento Bee



IN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Leaders of the American Federation of Labor as they met in Washington to consider action on John L. Lewis' Committee for Industrial Organization. The A. F. of L. Council may suspend the C. I. O. unions for defiance of its demand that they cease their activities in promoting industrial unionism through the C. I. O.

The Candidates

After participating in the ceremonies which marked the opening of the Triborough Bridge in New York, President Roosevelt, on the same day, attended the wedding of Ruth Bryan Owen to Captain Boerge Rohde in the Roosevelt church in Hyde Park. A week-end of rest at his home in Dutchess County was followed by his departure for Maine. Here, in company with three of his sons, he set out on a two-weeks' cruise along the Maine coast to end at Campobello Island, New Brunswick, where the President has a summer home. Before his return to Washington, the President expects to make official calls on government officials in Canada.

Governor Landon is busy at Topeka with a special session of the legislature. While he has been putting the final touches on his acceptance speech, the governor has found time to hold conferences with party leaders. The most important recent conference was held with Frank O. Lowden, former governor of Illinois and farm leader. Governor Landon and Mr. Lowden are in agreement on a solution of the farm problem. Their proposals for soil con-

if the election were held now President Roosevelt would carry 24 states, giving him 229 electoral votes. Governor Landon, on the other hand, would carry 13 states with 99 electoral votes.

Since election requires 262 electoral votes, it is necessary to look to the remaining 11 states which are in the doubtful column. Among these 11 states, which control 203 electoral votes, are New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio. In eight of the doubtful states Governor Landon has a majority in the poll; in three of them the President is leading. The 173 votes in the eight doubtful states in which Landon is leading, when added to the 99 in which he has a clear majority, would give him the election. While the popular vote favors the President by a slight majority, the electoral vote favors the Kansas governor.

The Institute's conclusions in this poll have been based on the returns from 105,000 ballots. This is a small sample from the 40,000,000 voters who are likely to cast ballots in November. However, the poll indicates that this may be the closest election since 1916. All others since then have been landslides.

Finding Employment

Frances Perkins, secretary of labor, announces that the free employment offices, conducted by the states in conjunction with the federal government, have made 3,420,665 placements in private employment. This has been done since the service was established, under authorization from the Wagner-Peyser Act, on July 1, 1933. Miss Perkins made it clear that these were placements and not individuals, since some persons may have received several placements during the operation of the service. In addition to the jobs in private industry, Miss Perkins pointed out that the free employment offices had made 7,472,305 assignments to CWA and other relief projects.

Miss Perkins, in suggesting that business showed improvement, explained that the public employment offices had assisted last March in placing 91,412 people against 85,417 in March, 1935. The number of placements for April of this year was 109,149 against 101,467 a year earlier, while the May figures rose to 131,786 from 112,169 in 1935.

Signs of Better Times

The increase in private employment has been accompanied by other evidences of prosperity. A report on department store sales for the first six months of this year shows an increase of 10 per cent in business, while the increase for June was 15 per cent over June of last year. Business improvement is further reflected in a substantial increase in chain store business. The 25 leading organizations in this field report business for June which is 17 per cent higher than the sales of a year ago.

That conditions in the country are more prosperous is shown also by the decrease in the number of workers on WPA. A report shows that on June 20 there were 2,268,542



RELIEF PLANNERS

Rexford G. Tugwell, Resettlement Administrator, and Aubrey Williams, Assistant WPA Administrator, after a conference with the President in which they outlined drought relief plans.

servation, not unlike those now employed by the federal government, would be handled by the states through state departments of agriculture and agricultural colleges.

Landon Gains

The American Institute of Public Opinion recently announced a poll of American voters on Roosevelt and Landon. Roosevelt received 51.8 per cent of the votes. The percentage is somewhat smaller than the 55.8 per cent which the Institute reported for him in June, before Landon's nomination. The poll reveals that

The Week in the

What the American People Are Doing

persons employed by the WPA organization. This constitutes the smallest number since operations were started last November, and is almost a million less than the peak of WPA assignments in February, at which time 3,036,000 persons were employed.

NRA Aftermath

The invalidation of NRA by the Supreme Court has prevented the reemployment of 839,123 workers. This is the substance of a report recently made to President Roosevelt and to the press by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. The report was based on an extensive investigation of employment conditions throughout the United States.

As a result of this survey of labor conditions, the American Federation of Labor contends that current employment practices are responsible for the shortage in reemployment. These practices include the lengthening of the working day, wage cutting, reduction in

\$674,000,000. Somewhat more than half of this amount, in fact 57 per cent, was collected in New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California. Taxes on the incomes of corporations produced \$739,000,000 with 43 per cent collected in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and California.

Despite the criticism that income taxes in our country are high, it is clear that they constitute slightly less than a third of all the federal taxes collected for 1936. The major sources of federal revenue are consumer taxes on liquors, tobacco, and luxuries, together with tariffs on imports.

Rockefeller Foundation

The Rockefeller Foundation, according to its recently published annual report, spent \$12,725,439 during 1935 in all parts of the world. In its public health work of the year the Foundation concentrated attention upon yellow fever and malaria, and gave some attention to tuberculosis. However, more than half of the money appropriated during the year for health was spent on the investigation of mental diseases. The study of mental disorders was done in medical schools and hospitals with which the Foundation cooperated.

The Foundation also spent \$3,807,500 for studies in the social sciences, investigating social security, international relations, and public administration. During the year money was also allocated to other fields, including humanities and dramatics. According to Mason, president of the Foundation, it is the desire of those who direct the Foundation's policies to give support "to objective, realistic studies promising results of practical significance."

New York Rackets

For six months or more New York City has been the scene of an investigation of rackets. The investigations and prosecutions under the direction of Special Prosecutor Thomas E. Dewey, have concentrated attention on gambling and vice.

It is now announced that Governor Lehman has ordered the convocation of two grand juries, together with two special court sessions, to make further investigations of racketeering. The courts, to convene on August 5, will be presided over by Justices Philip J. McCook and Ferdinand Pecora. Justice McCook has been presiding in the recent racket investigations. Justice Pecora, new to the New York



IF IT ISN'T ONE THING IT'S ANOTHER

—Carlisle in Washington Star

rates for overtime work, the use of the "stretch out," the resumption of sweatshop labor, the elimination of minimum standards for apprenticeships, together with a noticeable increase in child labor. The report, concerned primarily with the statement of facts, makes no recommendations for a solution of the problem.

According to Mr. Green, the invalidation of NRA in the Schechter case opened the way for many employers to take advantage of employees. He does not place the responsibility for this on all employers, however. Instead "the appearance of one cutthroat competitor often started a wave of wage cutting throughout the entire industry," Mr. Green stated.

Who Pays Taxes?

The annual report on internal revenue issued by the United States Treasury Department informs us of the sources of federal income. Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., announced recently that the total income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, was \$4,416,000,000. Because of improved business conditions, Mr. Morgenthau states, the revenue for the 1936 fiscal year was \$316,000,000 more than it was in 1935.

Of the \$4,416,000,000 received by the treasury during the fiscal year, \$503,000,000 was paid in liquor taxes. Slightly more than half of these taxes were collected in six states. Illinois led with the payment of \$73,000,000 in liquor taxes, while Pennsylvania, New York, Kentucky, Ohio, and California, in which large distilling, brewing, or wine-making enterprises are located, followed in order.

Income taxes provide another source of revenue. Levies on individual incomes yielded



NEW YORK
Its four bridges and 19 miles of roadway comprise

The United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

... will be remembered for his work in connection with the special investigations by the United States Senate of banking practices and of income tax evasions. While Governor Lehman instructs Special Prosecutor Dewey to investigate any rackets which are brought to his attention, it is believed that careful attention will be paid to labor rackets as well as to the poultry racket. Labor racketeering is suspected in those instances where exorbitant fees are charged for union affiliation. The poultry racket has been intruding itself upon New York consumers for years. It operates a system whereby poultry dealers, under fear of violence to their property, are obliged to have their poultry trucked by a company which charges extortionate fees for the services rendered.

Sharecroppers' Strike

The east Arkansas strike of sharecroppers, which was reputedly accompanied by the more or less of investigators and of union members, has been settled. While the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union declares the strike is at an end, the sheriffs of three counties, in which the strike was centered, deny that any co-operation dispute ever existed.

The members of the union's executive council insist they have won an average wage of \$1 a day for labor. In some counties the wages have been raised, they claim, to \$1.25 a day for a 10-hour day. H. L. Mitchell, the secretary of the union, maintains that the strike has demonstrated that Negro and white workers in the cotton fields have common interests. The spokesmen for the employers, however, assert that there is plenty of labor available at 75 cents a day and that the crops have been worked without interruption.

Regional Planning

The National Resources Committee announced a few days ago that it had been asked by the St. Louis Regional Planning Commission to co-operate in the establishment of an interstate agency to advise on the development of the St. Louis region. The region includes the cities of St. Louis and East St. Louis, together with all of three counties and portions of five other counties, involving an area of 3,200 square miles and a population of 1,400,000.

This new agency, urged by the St. Louis Commission, would consist of five members, two to be appointed by the governor of Illinois, two by the governor of Missouri, and one by

the President. This committee of five, when created, will advise on the preparation and adoption of an official master plan for the region, giving special attention to problems of sanitation, transportation, and recreation. The creation of the new commission will depend upon legislative authorization by the two states and the federal government.

Few Can Fly

Are we to become a nation of airplane users? That is the question which is discussed by Kenneth Brown Collings in the *American Mercury* for July. In spite of the rapid expansion of the airplane industry, Mr. Collings, who has had much experience in flying, predicts that we shall never become a nation of flyers. After commenting on the necessity of having young men for pilots who are physically fit and who are also eager to fly, he writes:

We have already seen that less than one-sixth of the population can conceivably fly. If the



IT'S MINE
—Elderman in Washington Post

Army's physical test excludes all but 20 per cent of those, and the flying course eliminates half the remainder, then one out of 60 Americans can be said to fly to Army standards. In practice, one out of 600 would be nearer the truth, because the age, educational, and general requirements would eliminate most of the starters before they reached the physical examination.

However, Mr. Collings refers here merely to the difficulty in securing pilots. As pilots are found, and as airplanes become increasingly safe, there may be little to prevent the relatively few qualified pilots from serving those of us who desire to fly.

Socialists Disagree

The Socialists are in disagreement on party principles. Louis Waldman, long active in the Socialist party, is leading a movement, with other right-wing Socialists, to form the People's party. Waldman and his group are convinced that the major wing of the Socialists, headed by Norman Thomas, is not representing their views. The People's party, however, is not planning to run candidates for office. Instead, it proposes to use its organization to encourage laborers to support President Roosevelt. In New York state, where the Socialist vote has been large in recent presidential elections, they expect to throw their support to Governor Herbert H. Lehman in his campaign for re-election.

Waldman is not the only Socialist bolter. James H. Maurer, twice the vice-presidential nominee of the Socialists and member of the party for 40 years, has tendered his resignation as a party member. Mr. Maurer insists that the management of the party no longer lies in the hands of workingmen, but is controlled to a too great extent by people from the professions.



© Harris and Ewing

FARLEY AND HIS RELIEF
The Postmaster General and William W. Howes, assistant postmaster general, who will fill Farley's place from August 1 until after the election. Farley is taking leave of absence to direct the Roosevelt campaign.

In Brief

Tuskegee Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington as an industrial school for Negroes, will open a three-year course this fall in order to train chefs. This is thought to be the first course of its kind in America. A 10-week preliminary course in training chefs is being offered at Tuskegee this summer, according to a statement from Dr. Frederick Douglas Patterson, the president of the institution.

* * *

At the conclusion of the recent session of Congress, President Roosevelt signed a bill creating a permanent system of co-operation between the federal government and the states in the development of parks and other outdoor recreation areas. The bill also allows for federal co-operation with such political subdivisions as counties, cities, and park districts. The act will open the way for more extensive use of CCC personnel in developing state and local parks. The administration of the law is left with the National Park Service. The Park Service will co-operate with local government units in furthering the expansion and improvement of their park facilities.

* * *

The Pennsylvania legislature has been deadlocked over the question of providing relief funds for the next six months. Democratic Governor George H. Earle insists on the appropriation of \$55,000,000. The Republican Senate offers to appropriate \$35,000,000. Karl deSchweinitz, state director of relief, pleads for action in the interest of relief clients who have received no grocery orders since July 1. Meanwhile hunger marchers, numbering 400, hold a protest meeting on the capitol steps in Harrisburg while the legislature is in session. The Senate, it is expected, will compromise with the governor's request by appropriating \$45,000,000.

* * *

The presidential candidacy of Representative William Lemke on a third party ticket received a setback when it was learned a few days ago that Dr. Francis E. Townsend, promoter of the \$200-a-month old-age pension plan and the Rev. Gerald K. Smith of the share-the-wealth group were holding their support in abeyance. Townsend claims that Lemke has not fully endorsed their program. Opposition to the endorsement of Lemke, according to Townsend, comes from the old-age pension clubs. Smith hinted at an alliance of his followers with those of Townsend and Father Charles E. Coughlin looking to the formation of another party.

Names in the News

Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of William Jennings Bryan and United States minister to Denmark, was married at Hyde Park, New York, to Boerge Rohde, captain of the personal guard to King Christian X of Denmark. Before assuming her post at Copenhagen, Mrs. Owen served two terms in Congress from Florida. Our minister to Denmark will remain in this country during the next two months to campaign for the Democratic ticket.

It is expected that she will assume her post in Denmark in the fall and that she will continue to be known officially and publicly as Mrs. Owen.

* * *

Henry Wright, distinguished architect and town planner, died a few days ago at the age of 58. Mr. Wright, consultant in many housing projects, was famous for the garden cities which he planned at Radburn, New Jersey; Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, and Sunnyside in Queens, New York. He was head of the school of architecture at Columbia University. Last year he published *Rehousing Urban America*.

* * *

Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, widely known Congregational clergyman of Brooklyn and former president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, died a few days ago. Dr. Cadman, known as a brilliant preacher and a competent church organizer, was a pioneer in the successful use of the radio for broadcasting religious services.

* * *

William W. Howes will serve as acting postmaster general during the time that James



© Wide World

CANDIDATE

Frank Murphy, Philippine high commissioner, who has obtained a leave of absence to become a candidate for the governorship of Michigan.

A. Farley is on leave of absence from his post. Mr. Farley begins a payless leave from the Post Office Department on August 1, to give all his time, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, to the direction of the party's presidential campaign. Mr. Howes, a native of South Dakota, has been serving as first assistant postmaster general.

* * *

Frank Murphy, former mayor of Detroit, has been granted a leave of absence by President Roosevelt from his post as high commissioner of the Philippines to become the Democratic candidate for governor of Michigan.



McLaughlin Aerial Survey from Wide World
BRIDGE
express highway joining Manhattan, the Bronx, and

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzey and Paul D. Miller

The Historic Struggle for Power

THE campaign of 1896 offers perhaps the most interesting study of any of the political battles in American history. It is especially timely to reconsider it at present because many of the issues involved and the alignment of the voters resemble the situation as we enter the presidential campaign this year. It is true, of course, that the issue of free silver versus the gold standard is no longer with us, but that issue in 1896 was more the symbol of deeper cleavages and clashes of economic interest than it was a question of the monetary system which the United States should have. The battle of 1896 was in reality a struggle to strip big business and big finance of the power they had been exerting over American economic life. In a sense, it was a battle of the "masses against the classes." Labor and the farmers united in a desperate effort to seize the reins of government and inaugurate policies which would benefit them.



DAVID S. MUZZY

In 1896, as at the present time, the business elements of the country were almost unanimous in their opposition to the election of a Democratic president. The campaign split the Democratic party wide open, the followers of Cleveland and all conservative Democrats deserting in droves because of the radicalism of William Jennings Bryan. At the historic battle at Chicago the left wing of the Democratic party succeeded in taking over control. An idea of the bitterness of the feelings which were later to mark the campaign was forecast at the convention. Here is Herbert Agar's description of the cleavage as told in his "The People's Choice":

When the Democrats met in Chicago, it was clear at once that the agrarians felt a holy passion for their cause, that they had identified free silver not only with their prosperity, but with truth and goodness and decency. And their opponents, the more conservative Democrats from the Eastern industrial states, had made the same identification with the gold standard. The bitterness of the coming campaign was foreshadowed on the floor of the Convention; neither group would listen to the opposing spokesmen, and the transaction of business was almost impossible. But finally the tension was broken, and the immediate future of the party determined, by a speech from William Jennings Bryan. A young man from Nebraska with no national reputation, zealous, ignorant, and charming, with a beautiful voice and an evangelical fervor for what he regarded as the cause of humanity, Bryan was the perfect spokesman for this last phase of American agrarianism. Aristocratic agrarianism, the civilization of the landowner, had been killed in the Civil War; and now the poor farmer who had helped the capitalist win that war awoke to the knowledge that he had sold himself to a relentless master. It was a peasant uprising for which Bryan spoke, and his impassioned Biblical phrases sound strange and peculiar, and pathetically out of date, in the America of the Standard Oil Company and the arrogant Mr. Townsend Martin.

Battle of the Century

If one goes over that famous "cross of gold" speech which swept the Democratic convention off its feet, one is able to discern how intense was the fight against big business. Farmers and workers were lumped together in their opposition to the practices of the economic masters of the day. "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!"

The campaign of 1896 was one of the bitterest, as well as one of the dirtiest, in American history. Bryan was dubbed an

anarchist and a revolutionist and called many unmentionable names. The Republican campaign was managed by that astute politician, Mark Hanna, who immediately set out to enrol the entire business community in the fight against Bryan. The historian Rhodes, certainly no sympathizer of Bryanism, tells us of the Republican tactics as follows: Hanna "raised the necessary funds. Soon gaining the confidence of New York City financial men, he obtained from them important contributions to his campaign. Some concerns were assessed by Hanna according to what he conceived to be their financial interest in the canvass, a uniform assessment of one quarter of one per cent being levied on the banks. He systematized the expenditures and had the books kept on true business principles. The Republican National Committee spent between three and three and a half millions and had also in reserve a guarantee fund which was not called upon."

With the business community thus solidly lined up against Bryan, every conceivable method was used to win the election. Turning again to Mr. Agar, we find this description of the campaign that was waged by the supporters of McKinley:

During the campaign, the insane pro-silver ardor of the convention crowd was matched by an equal insanity on the part of the defenders of gold. The whole machinery of finance, all the influences so cynically listed by Mr. Townsend Martin, were set in motion to convince the people that the election of Bryan would mean the end, not only of wealth, but of honor, and, quaintly enough, of Christianity. Everything was done to create a feeling of panic. Capitalists gave orders to factories on the understanding that they were not to be executed if Bryan were elected. Insurance companies holding western mortgages let it be known that, if McKinley won, the mortgages would be extended for five years at a low rate of interest. Employers, paying off their workmen at the end of the week before the election, told them not to come back to work if Bryan were elected. The big banks brought all possible pressure on the little country banks, to convince them that the immediate future would be black unless the Republican party came to power. In the end, Bryan met his inevitable defeat—but only by 6,502,925 votes to 7,106,779 for his opponent.

The quality of the passions aroused in this contest are shown by the following comments on Bryan and his policy in the New York Tribune: "The thing was conceived in iniquity and was brought forth in sin. It had its origin in a malicious conspiracy against the honor and integrity of the nation. . . . It has been defeated and destroyed because right is right and God is God. Its nominal head was worthy of the cause. Nominal, because the wretched, rattlepated boy, posing in vapid vanity and mouthing resounding rottenness, was but the vocal leader of that league of hell." The paper then goes on to speak of the "lies and forgeries and blasphemies and all the nameless iniquities of that campaign against the Ten Commandments."



THE ELECTION RESULTS IN 1896
When Bryan came near to reaching the presidency. With 50,000 more votes, properly distributed, he would have won. (From an illustration in "Our Times," by Mark Sullivan. Scribner's.)

Although both sides referred to the campaign as one of education, the tactics used can hardly be referred to as such. As the historians Hacker and Kendrick point out in their excellent "The United States Since 1865," "Everything that was done in the campaign was calculated to awaken passions, evoke fear, mobilize popular resentment." It is not only untrue, but actually ludicrous to refer to the 1896 battle as a "campaign of education."

Campaign Strategy

The campaign strategy of the two parties differed markedly. From the very beginning, Bryan carried on a tireless and aggressive campaign. All in all, he made about 600 speeches, which, according to John Hay, was the same speech "delivered twice a day. There is no fun in it. He simply reiterates the unquestionable truths that every man who has a clean shirt is a thief and should be hanged, and there is no goodness or wisdom except among the illiterates and criminal classes." He visited 29 states and traveled 18,000 miles.

Effective as this method of campaigning was, it had its weaknesses. It exposed the candidate to hostility from his audience. Doubtless many of the epithets which were hurled at Bryan—notably the "Boy Orator"—resulted from his remaining constantly in the public eye. It enabled the opposition to caricature and ridicule him.

The Outcome

The strategy of the Republicans was different. Mark Hanna kept his candidate at home and had him deliver speeches to the visitors who came to his Ohio home. While McKinley did not personally enter into the fray with such vehemence as Bryan, the party itself was not inactive. As Hacker and Kendrick tell us, "Hanna had enough funds to pay for the services of fourteen hundred speakers; to subsidize country newspapers, to issue tons of leaflets; to hire bands; and to buy bunting, posters, brassards, and buttons for all the clubs, political hangers-on, and small boys of the nation."

There were factors other than the political which contributed to the defeat of Bryan and the gradual subsidence of the radical movement that he led. The depression in which the country had found itself since the great panic of 1893 was beginning to lift. There was a rise in the price of wheat due to a wheat shortage in India in 1896. The following year, the position of the American farmer was further improved by a crop failure in Europe, which sent his prices even higher and removed the necessity for monetary manipulation to boost prices. In addition, the discovery of new gold supplies in the Klondike and on the Rand, plus the invention of a new process by which gold could be extracted cheaply from low-grade ores, relieved the strain on the gold standard. Moreover, America was at last becoming a great industrial nation, whose products, both agricultural and industrial, were finding their way more and more to the markets of the world, thus insuring prosperity to the people.

Naturally, the defeat of Bryan did not end the reform movement in the United States. Again in 1912, for example, we find demands for governmental action to correct some of the social and economic abuses that had arisen. Wilson's "New Freedom" was an attempt to make the economic system work more for the benefit of all the classes than for special groups. But it was left unfinished because of the intervention of the World War. In the wave of postwar prosperity, reform was thrown to the winds, and little attention was paid to it until the country once more fell into acute depression. The political upheaval of 1932 was another important protest movement. But of all the campaigns in American history in which vital economic issues have been involved, none has had the intensity of feeling that marked the battle of the century in 1896.

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. Do you believe the federal government should seek to relieve drought conditions in the separate states?
2. Do you believe the federal government should direct a nationwide soil conservation program, or that the matter should be left to the states?
3. Would you approve an increase in the activities of the Resettlement Administration in shifting families from one region to another?
4. How does Hitler stand to gain economically through the agreement between Germany and Austria?
5. How may Mussolini profit from the new accord?
6. It is frequently charged that Chiang Kai-shek is a tool of the Japanese government. Do you think this is true, or do you think he is acting in a statesmanlike manner to keep China out of a disastrous war?
7. What, in your opinion, do the Institute of Public Opinion polls on the presidential contest indicate?
8. What similarity is there between the campaign of 1896 and the present one?
9. Do you believe that American athletes acted wisely in going to Germany for the Olympics?
10. From what principal sources does the federal government derive its revenue?



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND HIS CABINET

(From a retouched enlargement by Pach, in the office of J. Pierpont Morgan.)

Among the New Books

Spivak

"Europe under the Terror," by John L. Spivak (New York: Simon and Schuster. \$2.50).

AMONG reporters it is now axiomatic that what John Spivak writes is apt to be spectacular and somewhat mysterious. Doubtless, it is Mr. Spivak's manner which is partly responsible for this impression. What other observers take for granted, he treats at length. And his style is a journalistic jargon tutored at the ringside and toughened, it would seem, by a rather frequent donning of the gloves on its own account. There is never a punch that he would pull.

His manner alone, however, does not explain all of Spivak. As a reporter, as one who gets at the kernel of things no matter how hard he may have to work at the husks, he is also unique. It is not only that he can make people talk. He can impose upon them a silence more embarrassing than anything they might themselves have said. His method is almost disarmingly simple. Where others are subtle in their questioning of important personages, Spivak is childishly frank. He does not beat about the bush. He enters straightway into it. And while it is true that he frequently comes out covered with thorns, there is always the bundle of facts grasped tightly and rather maliciously in his hands.



JOHN L. SPIVAK

How successful Mr. Spivak was in obtaining the facts he sought during his six months' stay in Europe may be surmised from the certainty that if he were to return to Italy or Germany under their present régimes, his life would be in danger. For the picture of these countries which he presents, as well as of Austria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, is one of terror and misery. The masses are being trodden upon, their lives empty of hope, their every activity closely watched by a vast army of spies.

What the more courageous among the people are doing to overthrow these dictatorships makes the most fascinating reading of Mr. Spivak's volume. There is something cynically noble in the portrait of a high Nazi officer, with a swastika upon his arm, meeting the author in a Nazi cafe in Germany to report to him the strength of the underground movement against the government. It is in the ferreting out of such facts that Spivak maintains his reputation of being unique among reporters.

Great Naturalists

"Green Laurels — the Lives and Achievements of the Great Naturalists," by Donald Culross Peattie (New York: Simon and Schuster. \$3.75).

THERE are rare occasions when a book impresses us as does a break of dawn, rather too precious for the beggary of tongue. If the thought must nevertheless become the word, it can do so only in hymn

of purest praise. It is such a book that Mr. Peattie has produced.

There is no author, except for the now degenerating Maeterlinck, who is quite like him. Given his subject, in the hands of a pedant, it might have become merely a weighty tome, dully impressive with its phalanxes of footnotes. Not so in the hands of Mr. Peattie. With an artistic skill that leaves the reader alternately envious and yet thankful that men can still make of words a beautiful pattern, Mr. Peattie tells of the lives of the great naturalists, of the men who have spent their best years seeking to catch what rhythms there are in nature's infinitely complex structure.

The author begins his story with Aristotle, and ends with the fascinating Henri Fabre, searching in his rock-ridden gardens for the lowly creeping things whose life's span is appropriately termed an epic of the commonplace. Between these two naturalists lie a whole galaxy of men, all of whom did their work with abnormal patience and asked little for their pains. Not that they were much different from the rest of us human beings. They, too, had their vain mouthings, their petty squabbles with one another; but when they crawled upon the ground to follow the path of an ant; when they stooped low to observe the down on the underside of a leaf; when they closed their eyes to the rest of the world, their whole being absorbed in the tiny universe that swirls beneath a microscope—then, they seemed to be rather more than human.

So it is sad to reflect that this work will probably have a rather limited appeal. While other books are sighed over in drawing rooms and at literary teas, this one will probably be set down as a classic—and remain unread, to gather dust upon library shelves.

Old South

"Gone with the Wind," by Margaret Mitchell (New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3).

SELDOM has a novel been greeted by so unanimous a plaudit of hosannas as has Miss Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind." Variously, according to the fulness of their superlatives or the temper of their enthusiasm, critics have hailed it as the most important piece of fiction to come out of America recently, as the finest re-creation of the South during the Civil War and the Reconstruction Era, as an almost unparalleled historical drama, replete with tumbling incident and characters who seem to step out of the first page and live with you until the last. In the face of this acclaim, even its Victorian length—it contains over 1,000 pages of closely huddled type—should prove no barrier to its reading.

The scene is laid in the plantation lands of northern Georgia and in the city of Atlanta, rapidly becoming the metropolis of the South. Already perceptible changes have been taking place in this section of the country. The industrial North is invading its social fabric, fashioning it anew to suit its own ends. The charm of the South, its leisurely way of life, its quietly accepted feudal security, are passing away



BOTANICAL EXPLORATION AT THE HEIGHT OF THE LINNAEAN AGE

From an old Danish Print in "Green Laurels."

like the wind. And it is for this dying civilization that Scarlett O'Hara puts up a futile fight. Ruthless, domineering, utterly selfish, avid for pleasure, she is no less human than most of her class. These characteristics appear bolder in her only because she is a woman who feels passionately, who desires to live to the very tilt of her arrogant nose a full and rich life. She sees the South passing away, she notes the ruin wrought by the war, and she becomes determined that her ancestral plantation, at any rate, shall not be swept away. It is this pathetic and glorious struggle of the present ever seeking to recapture the memory of things past that is the substance of this novel.

From the Magazines

"William Lemke—Crackpot for President," by Paul W. Ward. *Nation*, July 11, 1936.

PAUL WARD here discounts the widely held opinion that the formation of the Union party is a threat to Franklin Roosevelt. On the contrary, he notes, whatever votes its candidate, William Lemke, obtains will be precisely those which might otherwise have gone to Governor Landon. For the issue of the coming campaign is Roosevelt himself, so that the votes for Lemke can only be anti-Roosevelt votes, thus further endangering the chances of Republican victory.

Three assumptions, the writer continues, are at the base of Republican hopes that the third party will split the Roosevelt vote. The first of these is the combined strength of the Lemke, Coughlin, and Townsend adherents. Yet not one of these groups has displayed any formidable political power. And that they will do so in the national election is doubly doubtful because in many states there are laws which prevent a candidate of a third party from even being placed on the ballot.

Republicans further assume that Representative Lemke will be able to make a good showing among farmer and labor groups. Yet it has become apparent that labor is solidly behind Roosevelt. Not since the war has there been so concerted an effort to organize labor ranks in support of a candidate. As for the farmer groups, it is extremely unlikely that Lemke can muster any strength at all among them, save possibly in several of the poorer states.

Finally, to affect the election appreciably Lemke would have to show some strength in the key states, such as Michigan, Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts. It is here, however, that he is weakest.

"Hungary," by Hugo de Laehne. *Current History*, July, 1936.

THE miserable plight in which Hungary finds herself is described in this article by Mr. de Laehne. Before the war, this land was known as "the Canaan of Europe, the land of milk and honey." Now she is among the poorest of European states.

Various factors contribute to this situation. As the result of post-war treaties, Hungary lost more than two-thirds of her land and more than one-half of her popula-

tion. She had been exceptionally rich in timber lands, and the exports of lumber both gave work to the people and revenue to the government. There now remains to her but 20 per cent of these forests so that it has become necessary to import wood for fuel.

The state has the further burden of supporting a veritable host of civil servants remaining from the old régime, as well as paying pensions to former army men. It is estimated that 60 per cent of the government's budget is eaten up by these two items alone.

Another factor contributing to the plight of the people is the unequal distribution of farm land. About 70 families possess over 2,000,000 acres of soil, while over a million peasants have to make a livelihood out of an average of less than two acres each. Many of them have naturally been driven to tenancy or to becoming farm hands in the estates of the rich. Yet here their wages are not enough for the barest human needs. Wages have declined to about 34 cents a day, compared to the 60 cents paid before the war.

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Youth will be served. The Dionne quintuplets learned to take a walk before Messrs. Smith, Colby, Ely, Read and Cohalan.

—*Hartford COURANT*

Three countries, the United States, Russia and Venezuela, have most of the oil. The others furnish the troubled waters.

—*Louisville COURIER-JOURNAL*

It will be easy to tell when national decay has set in. Someone will bring out an electric icebox with no improvement.

—*Atlanta CONSTITUTION*

We have been talking for years about the underprivileged boy or girl as if they were in some other household, some other city. I often wonder, if we look carefully, whether we may not find them at home.—Dr. Amos O. Squire, medical head of Sing Sing Prison

"Performing a difficult task before breakfast will spoil your entire day," a physician declares. So that's what has been the matter with our days!—we've been getting up before breakfast.

—*Washington Post*

Add similes: As ignored as the *Queen Mary* on her second trip.

—*New York SUN*

With the radio roaring political speeches day and night, some of us may yet yearn for the days when we had only crooners to annoy us.

—*Saginaw NEWS*

Ethiopians will never consent to live under the heel of the aggressor.—Haile Selassie, exiled emperor of Ethiopia

A slow-motion camera shows that it takes one-fortieth of a second to wink the eye. And in some instances it takes four hours to explain to the Mrs. why you did it.

—*Atlanta JOURNAL*

You are born in a hospital; you marry in a church, and die in a car. What do you want a home for? —*St. Louis STAR- TIMES*



FROM THE JACKET DESIGN BY GEORGE CARLSON IN "GONE WITH THE WIND"



© Acme

FACING A BLEAK FUTURE

Their entire crop taken by the drought, this North Dakota family must depend upon the federal government for support.



© Acme

IN THE DROUGHT AREA

A typical scene in one of the drought-stricken states of the Northwest. The bed of a lake which has almost completely dried up.

Nation's Drought Stricken Areas Claim the Government's Notice

(Concluded from page 1)

back as soon as conditions are such that care can be taken of the animals on the farms.

Such, in broad outline, is the story of governmental aid to meet the emergency, but the drought and its attendant devastation is not looked upon solely as an emergency. It represents a permanent problem, for droughts have been recurring at irregular intervals and may be expected in the future.

The destruction wrought by the droughts is more severe now than it was in the earlier days, because so much of the land has been cultivated. When the plains were grass covered, dry seasons might come and the vegetation might wither, herds might indeed perish, and there naturally resulted considerable privation. But the soil itself remained, and when rains came again the plains and pastures were green and the old conditions were restored. But since fields have been cultivated, the loose earth blows away during excessively dry seasons. That is why dust storms, darkening the skies for days, have been witnessed in the western country; why the dust rose to the heavens, passed over the country, some of it being deposited as far east as the Atlantic Ocean. This dust represents the fertility which has resided in the soil, and when it was blown away the fields were left barren and unproductive.

Many people believe that the drying up of these plains regions—a drying up which has left the land bare of vegetation—has decreased the moisture in the air and has led to a constantly decreasing precipitation. In other words, it is feared by many climatologists that the plowing of the land not only destroys the soil but brings droughts on more frequently. Some think that if cultivation continues year after year and decade after decade in such a region of insufficient rainfall, the plains may eventually become desert lands.

A Permanent Problem

Whether or not there is actual danger that a great American desert may develop through a large part of the plains country and the Mississippi Valley, there is certainly a danger that droughts, destructive in nature—droughts which are tragic in their effects upon farm families over wide regions—may continually recur.

Can the government do anything to prevent these recurring crises? That is a question upon which there is a difference of opinion. Many people believe, and apparently President Roosevelt shares the view, that the government can do something. It can bring about what he has called a change in the economy of the drought-stricken areas. The farmers who have cultivated their lands may be induced to put more of their acres into pastures. In some cases forests may be planted. The government may induce the farmers to take such action in part by a program of education and in part by paying the land-

owners a bonus of some sort if they will cut down their crop acreage and put out more of their land in grasses or forests.

Rexford Tugwell, head of the Resettlement Administration, has pointed out that those in authority do not intend that whole regions, such as the Dakotas, should stop cultivation of the soil altogether. His idea is that part of the land is well suited to agricultural crops, such as wheat, and that some of it is not. Accordingly the lands should be surveyed and those suitable to crops should be sowed to them, while the lands suitable to grasses should be retained as pasture areas.

A Planning Program

Certain localities are so helpless from the standpoint of agriculture that plans are afoot for the removal of families to more suitable areas, though President Roosevelt strongly emphasizes the point that no wholesale moving of populations is contemplated. He has in mind changes in the economy of the areas with insufficient rainfall, and these changes will necessitate a greater dependence upon grasses and forests and less dependence than there is now upon the production of crops. He thinks that after this change has been worked out the regions will support almost, though possibly not quite, as large populations as they now undertake inadequately to sustain.

It is clear that a program by which the economy of states, or large regions, should be changed, would imply a considerable degree of economic planning. Many people are opposed to planning in the abstract, and some of them are probably opposed to planning even in such a concrete case. It is very doubtful, however, whether planning of this sort will become a political issue in the present campaign. It appears that the agricultural programs of the two main political parties—Democratic and Republican—are quite similar. Both parties advocate the principle of inducing the

farmers in some cases to change from crops such as wheat and corn to vegetation which better conserves the soil. And both parties advocate bringing about that result through subsidies or grants of some kind from the government to farmers.

Historical Perspective

While it is believed in some quarters that the drought problem is becoming increasingly serious and that the Midwest may be on the road to desert conditions, that theory is not universally accepted. Weather observers point to the record of earlier years to show that the droughts are not a new development. The Weather Bureau reports that this is the ninth severe drought in less than half a century, others having occurred in 1889, 1894, 1901, 1917, 1921, 1924, 1930, and 1934.

Drought seems to be a part of the regular climatological cycle of the United States. Weather reports, gathered at Marietta, Ohio, and at St. Paul, Minnesota, and covering almost a century, indicate that those regions have had regular drought cycles. The cycle seems to have been completed, in each case, in about 30 years. Records show that the drought period was usually followed by one of excessive moisture. It is interesting to observe that the two regions were not drought stricken at the same time. When one region suffered from a shortage of moisture the other seemed to have an abundance.

This indicates that the climatologists are correct when they report that while floods are quite localized and temporary, droughts cover wide territory and are sometimes prolonged for years. They seem to arise from changes in atmospheric circulation in wide areas over the land and sea. No one seems to know what causes these atmospheric shifts. Droughts appear slowly; last for a long time; affect the prosperity of people for years even after normal rainfall returns.

However, there is a more localized aspect of the drought problem. It is one over which man could doubtless exert considerable control. The droughts which we have experienced are a part of the flood-drought cycle which recurs to some degree every year. Each spring we are likely to experience floods in one part of the country or another. This year it was in the valleys of the Susquehanna, Ohio, and Potomac

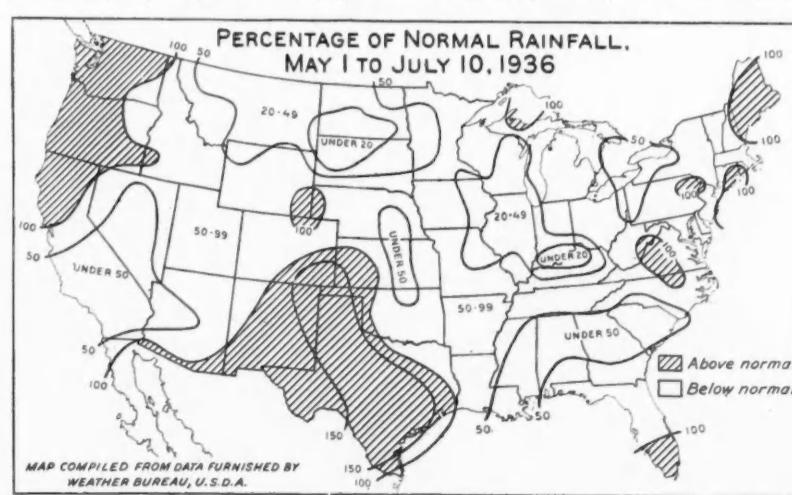
Rivers. Another year may find the flood areas along the Illinois, or the Arkansas, maybe the upper Missouri, or possibly the lower Mississippi. Wherever we experience them we are certain to find the spring runoff at its worst sometime from late February to the middle of April. The actual time will depend upon several factors—the amount of snow deposited on the mountains during the winter months, the speed with which the spring thaw occurs, together with the amount of rain which falls in the flood region during the period of the thaw.

Because much of the flood water is not held on the mountains and hills during the spring, the flood season is likely to be followed by a dry period during midsummer. It usually extends over a portion of the time from early June to September. If the period is prolonged, as it is this summer, we speak and read of the drought. During the dry period wind erosion is likely to be great. Furthermore, heavy rains, when they come, are certain to damage the farm lands by the erosion of large quantities of soil. In addition, the water level of the soil is lowered by excessive run-off during the spring months. Studies made in the drought belt indicate that the level of subsurface water has been falling lower each year. The best evidence of this can be found in the dry belts where wells, once sources of an abundant water supply, have ceased to flow.

Government Aid

If and when we develop more intelligent farm practices, there are still some things which organized government can do to assist with the control of drought. Governments, state and federal, will have to be relied upon to carry out reforestation work. The much-needed water storage dams, both large and small, will have to be built by governments. The actual work on such projects can be done as WPA projects or possibly as CCC assignments. Demonstrations for control of soil erosion and for improving farm practices will continue to be done largely by government. Emergency measures, such as production loans, lowered freight rates, resettlement of the families in greatest distress, and even the granting of direct relief may be regarded as government functions. Finally, the retirement of some of the drought-stricken acreage from production may have to be employed.

Briefly, the drought is a problem of conservation and not merely one of relief. Temporary measures, valuable as they are, must not be considered more important than a long-range plan to reduce the severity of the dry sieges. It is the job of the farmers, with the aid which they can receive from technically trained government agents, to find ways of controlling soil moisture. We shall master the drought problem not by moving away from the rainless areas (except perhaps in a few sections) but by exercising control over them. Drought effects can be relieved in a permanent way by the intelligent utilization of land and water. However, millions of farmers must be willing to coöperate in the enterprise. This will require the enlistment of farmers' organizations as well as agricultural colleges and experiment stations. It is a problem of adapting people to soil and of soil to the best interests of the people.



—Department of Agriculture
MAP SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF RAINFALL THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES